GOLD STANDARD:

Applying Best Practices in Olympic Development to a Baltimore Bid

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PART I: INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this project is to present the case for the development of an Olympic Park and Athlete's Village along the Middle Branch of Baltimore's Patapsco River. By applying best practices observed through the assessment of the last 20 years' Summer Olympic host cities, a plan is put forth to serve as a sample concept for Olympic development that enhances economic impacts and mitigates social costs. This project aims to serve as a resource for practitioners considering an Olympic bid generally, and to offer a compelling vision for a future Baltimore Olympic bid more specifically. The paper is designed around the following research question:

What are current and best practices in Olympic development as they pertain to the Olympic Park and Athletes Village, and how might these principles be used for the development of Baltimore's Middle Branch as the cornerstone of a Baltimore Olympic bid?

PART II: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Olympic Games present a unique opportunity for cities to create new places. The sheer magnitude of the event results in logistical challenges, which can be used to leverage significant capital investment. As a result, Olympic host cities often use the Games as means of sparking large-scale urban development projects. Among the most notable of these projects are housing developments for athletes and the sporting venues in which they compete. Such ventures offer the opportunity for new construction, with the hope for long-term economic benefits. The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) describes the catalytic effect the Games can bring very succinctly:

> *Olympic Host Cities typically use the Olympic Games as a catalyst for the initiation, expansion, intensification or hastening of plans for reurbanisation or community gentrification. Sometimes, the Olympics Games refocus development priorities, accelerating pre-existing development plans, or legitimising development plans that had been stalled as a result of previous conflicts. At other times, the ability to attract large quantities of public and private investment means that development which would not normally be possible becomes feasible under the impetus of the Olympic Games. For urban planners and policy-makers, the Games has come to represent a major opportunity for infrastructural investment and environmental improvement (COHRE 2007).*

This Olympic development paradigm has not always been in place, however. Rather, the scale of development associated with the modern Games has evolved over time. One indicator of this evolution is the changing nature of housing accommodations in Olympic cities. The rebirth of the Olympics in 1896 did not call for any accommodations on the part of host cities whatsoever, and in the first two decades of the event, Olympic athletes frequently slept on the ships that brought them to the Games (Muñoz 2006). As early as 1910, however, Pierre Coubertin (founder of the modern Olympic Games) envisioned that hotel accommodations would be made for Games organizers, and that a space be dedicated "for a camp and a form of barracks to house the athletes during the Games" (Muñoz 2006).

The first attempt made at Coubertin's vision for athlete housing came during the Paris 1924 Olympics. Set up as temporary barracks near one of the stadia, it housed a small fraction of the Games' group of athletes and provided post and telegraph services. While this military-style arrangement was what Coubertin generally had called for in his vision of the "Olympic City," it bears little resemblance to the Olympic Village concept that came to be prominent in later Games. The first "true" Olympic Village, in the more modern regard, was built for the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles. Proposing the Village as an inexpensive solution to the accommodation issue, L.A. organizer Zack Farmer pitched it as a "village

Figure 1: Los Angeles 1932 Olympic Village

Source: Look and Learn History Picture Library (2012)

of dreams" that would offer housing and meals for the humble price of two dollars a day, in addition to community amenities such as an amphitheater and hospital. Just as importantly, its construction would offer desperately-needed employment opportunities in a state that had been hit particularly hard by the 1929 stock market crash (Muñoz 2006). Thus, the concept of consolidated athlete housing was born.

While the Los Angeles Olympics marked the inception of the Olympic Village, Rome's 1960 Olympics transitioned the Village into the modern era. Designed as a neighborhood rather than a temporary means of accommodation, Rome's Olympic Village was the first to include residential zoning- a quality that all Olympic Villages would share in the future. Additionally, 1960 marked the connection between athlete housing and public perceptions of the host city. As Muñoz puts it, "It was with Rome in 1960 that the architectural form of the Olympic Village became a lynchpin in the projection of the city's image" (Muñoz 2006).

Rome's Olympic Village is among the factors that explain why the 1960 Olympics marked what Chalkley and Essex (among other scholars) consider to be a modern trend in Olympic development. Describing development patterns and the Olympics as an evolving process, they identify four major phases. The first phase was a time of minimal construction, the second phase was a time of new venue construction, and the third phase was a time of new venue construction and a minimal level of city-wide development. The fourth phase marked a major paradigm shift, whereby the Games came to be "used as a trigger for large-scale urban improvements and consequently had a much more substantial impact on the landscape and urban environment of its host cities" (Chalkley and Essex 1999). The Rome 1960 Olympics are widely recognized by scholars as the beginning of the current "fourth phase" of Olympic development, and marked the first time that "the full potential of the Olympics as an instrument of urban transformation" was reached (Gold 2008).

It is around this time period that the concept of "Olympic urbanism" became prominent, and that city development became the norm for Games that were growing wider in scope. The Rome Olympics were particularly important in this regard because they were the first Games to adopt "a regional conception of the urban mass," (Muñoz 2006) whereby city-wide expansion was a prominent goal. Equally important was the architecture of the buildings, as the embrace of the modern form became the norm in Olympic construction.

Figure 2: Atlanta's Olympic Stadium

Source: Meier (2012)

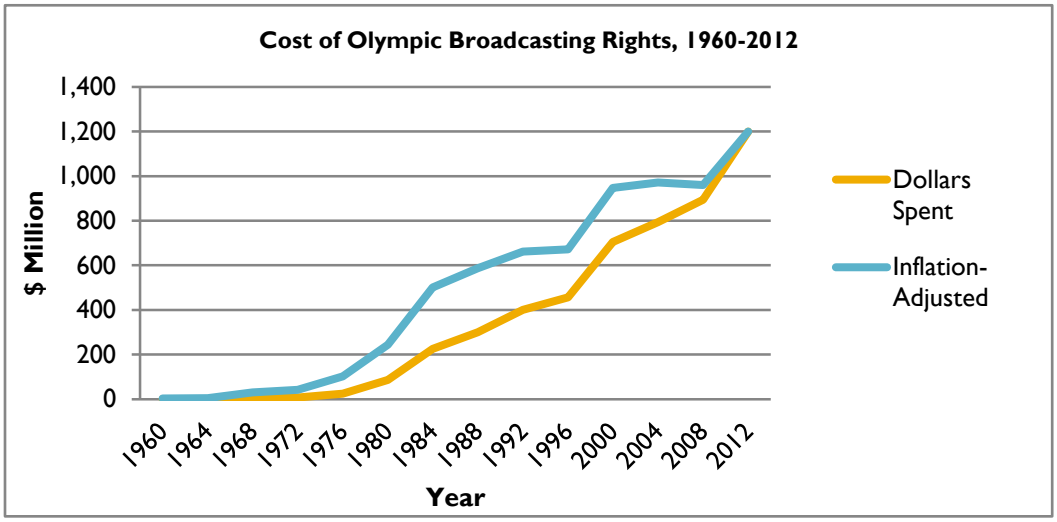
Such lasting changes to the physical landscape comprise major elements in host cities' attempts to leave behind an "Olympic legacy" after the Games. Legacy projects have come in many forms for host cities. Barcelona, for instance, is remembered for its creation of a new neighborhood by redeveloping industrial land along the city's waterfront - a characteristic also exhibited by London's Olympic Village (IOC 2012). Combining the Olympic Movement's goal of leaving behind a culture of sport with the opportunity for new urban development projects,

some host cities construct venues to yield long-lasting utility. Perhaps no more architecturally infamous example exists than the Olympic Stadium in Atlanta, which was designed in such a way to that it could be converted into a new stadium for the city's professional baseball team- the Atlanta Braves.

Other legacy projects have come in the form of new civic and open space. In Atlanta, the organizing committee leveraged the Games to legitimize the state's acquisition and clearance of several dozen acres on downtown's west side to construct Centennial Olympic Park, which served as a gathering space during the Olympics and is now a popular venue for concerts, rallies and festivals. In Barcelona, redevelopment efforts to construct the Olympic Village were conducted in concert with the restoration of the seafront, leading to a 5 kilometer span of new beaches for the public that attracts three million visitors a year.

As the expansion of long-term development schemes to alter the built and natural environments has taken hold in recent decades, so too has the legacy of increasing global media coverage. Prior to 1960, the Games were not commercially broadcast. Now, the majority of the planet's population tunes in to watch.[1] As a result of this massive media attention, the Games present a uniquely large, captive audience that stands to offer handsome rewards in the form of lucrative television contracts and marketing efforts. And the value of television rights have skyrocketed over time, as the figure below shows. In 2012 dollars, the cost of broadcasting rights have increased from $3 million in 1960 to $42 million in 1972, to $500 million in 1984, to $950 million 2000, and to even greater costs in the present[2] (Moreland).

Figure 3: The Rising Costs of Broadcasting the Olympic Games



Sources: Moreland, Jennifer (N.D.); Associated Press (2) (2012)

[1] For instance, 70% of the world's population is reported to have watched at least some portion of the Atlanta Games in 1996 (Gratton and Henry 2001).

[2] Figures are estimated with the use of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator.

The allure of having an international audience extends beyond branding for networks and advertisers, however. The international exposure the Games offer provides an opportunity for the branding of the host cities themselves. As a result, the Olympics can become a tool for self-promotion; host cities use the Games as a way to showcase themselves to the world, with the hope of projecting a "world-class" image, attracting new visitors, and generating widespread media coverage (Andranovich 2001). Chris Gratton and Ian Henry echo this sentiment in their book *Sport in the City: the Role of Sport in Economic and Social Regeneration*, describing cities' interest in mega-events "as an element in city marketing, an attractor of the tourist market or of inward investment" (Gratton and Henry 2001).

The latter of these rationales - local investment - is especially important for the purposes of this paper. In the process of bidding and winning the right to host events such as the Games, cities have made increasingly large investments with the hopes of yielding greater returns. Gratton and Henry provide a basic model describing the economic justification for these investments: funds are provided to put on the event, the event attracts outside visitors, those outside visitors spend money in the local community, and the new source of income creates jobs and income for residents (Gratton and Henry 2001). Under this model, the Olympics are packaged as a brand for local economic development.

There is a great deal of debate as to whether the Olympics actually deliver on the promise of economic benefits. Economist Robert Baade suggests that the true level of windfall profits from the Games are often much lower than host cities predict. Part of this is due to tendencies of economic forecasts to overestimate economic impact. Baade points out that many economic impact studies neglect to control for spending by local residents during the Games; much of the local spending is inconsequential to the event or takes place in lieu of other spending that would have occurred locally regardless of the Games. He also mentions that impact assessments often do not account for *lost* revenues resulting from local residents leaving to avoid the Games[3] (Baade, N.D.).

Richard Cashman argues that because of the intense effort host cities place into securing the bid and staging a successful Games, post-Games efforts are not always adequately planned. As a result, the potential for lasting impact can be limited. Further, not all venues will necessarily be cost-effective to maintain and adapt for use beyond the Games; depending on the long-term viability of particular venues, the future operation (or deconstruction) of facilities can carry additional costs (Cashman 2002). Another important issue is the fact that the International Olympic Committee (IOC) requires host cities to incur all surplus expenditures, which presents a heavy financial risk (Baade, N.D.). The issue of cost overruns has been contentious in host and applicant cities. They have also been quite common, as the table below demonstrates. The Games are an expensive undertaking in general, which is only compounded when cities go over-budget.

[3] While this is a critical issue to incorporate into local economic impact assessments, it is the opinion of the author that such arguments are less compelling at the regional or national scale. On a macro scale, the level of temporary out-migration of local residents and their dollars would have to be quite high to counter-act the net influx of outside dollars (a large portion of which are spent by foreigners) into the regional and national economy.

Table 1: Cost Overruns in Olympic Cities

Year	Host City	Percent Over Budget	Total Cost
1992	Barcelona	417%	$7.3 billion
1996	Atlanta	147%	$2.4 billion
2000	Sydney	90%	$4.3 billion
2004	Athens	60%	$3 billion
2008	Beijing	4%	$5.5 billion

Source: Flyvbjerg and Stewart (2012)

Some critics of the Games suggest that the processes behind "inter-urban competition" result in wasteful investments that can actually intensify cities' troubles rather than mitigate them. Among the potential harms incurred by residents are increased taxes to cover infrastructure costs, the disruption and displacement of neighborhoods to accommodate large construction projects, and increased housing costs (Harvey 1989). This is particularly concerning due to the disparate impact that the Games have traditionally had on lower-income populations within host cities. Given these potential downsides, the Games are viewed by many as a vehicle to advance the interests of the affluent rather than those most in need. Stephen Essex and Brian Chalkley highlight these sentiments in *Olympic Games: Catalyst of Urban Change*, in which they describe critics' view of the mega-event as "a self-serving commercial circus of property developers, construction companies, equipment suppliers and commercial sponsors whose benefits do not necessarily extend to the local communities" (Essex and Chalkley, 1998).

Architecture historian and stadia expert Dr. Benjamin Flowers finds validity to the argument that money spent on the Games can be a wasteful venture. As he puts it, "If you look at the vast sums of that are required, especially in the last 20 years, and the incredibly restrictive nature of the IOC as an organization, those dollars, if they had been invested in other things that the public actually had a sustained and long term interest in it would have more than likely been a better use of the money. The range of examples that highlight that run from the not so terrible to the truly awful" (Flowers, 2013). Additionally, he emphasizes that the question of "success" for Olympic development projects is largely subjective, and often is measured in terms of the profit garnered by developers (Flowers, 2013).

COHRE has done extensive research to measure the impact that development schemes and other changes that come with the bidding process have on local residents' housing. It finds that in the case of the Olympics and other mega-events that "the organization and implementation of such events are all too frequently characterized by forced evictions, discrimination in the implementation of gentrification or beautification programs, and/or a striking increase in the unaffordability of housing for local residents" (COHRE, 2007).

There have been several instances where housing displacement has occurred as a result of the Olympics. Sometimes, it comes in the form of direct displacement. In a study of seven Olympic cities, COHRE found that over 700,000 residents were forcibly evicted from their homes in the lead-up to the Seoul 1988 Olympics. Even more drastically, as many as 1.5 million residents were forced from their homes

leading up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics. In Barcelona, 400 families were displaced to make way for the Olympic Village, 200 were displaced to make room for highway construction, and many more lost their homes due to indirect displacement resulting from drastic increases in housing costs (COHRE, 2007).

COHRE is not without its critics, however. A spokesman for the London Development Agency charged a COHRE report on the impact of London's 2012 Olympics on housing as "littered with misleading information," and pointed out that half of the people who were actually displaced were students whose accommodation was being moved to a new location for unrelated reasons (Advocates for Human Dignity, 2012). Michael Dobbins, the City of Atlanta's Planning Director during the 1996 Games, also questions some of COHRE's figures; For instance, while the development of Centennial Place led to resident displacement, it also replaced many of the affordable units it removed, and is a project he says would have happened regardless of the Games coming to town (Dobbins, 2013).

The literature portrays the Olympics as an event that can provide a boost to infrastructure and neighborhood renewal efforts, albeit with a checkered past. As the magnitude of the event has grown both in terms of participation and viewership, so too have the financial stakes and efforts to catalyze urban change. And with the pursuit of Olympic regeneration comes the continued concern for collateral damage to vulnerable populations.

PART III: BEST PRACTICES

Over the past 20 years, both consistent trends and distinct differences have emerged in terms of which venues are included in the Olympic Ring, where they are located, how compact these venue areas are, and how proximate they are to athlete housing. The last six Summer Olympics also provide insight into the different schemes of Athletes Villages, and how they are integrated into their surroundings.

OLYMPIC PARKS

Olympic Parks (also referred to as Olympic "Rings") take on various forms in host cities. In some cases, they are sports complexes with campus-like settings. In other instances, they do not resemble parks so much as patchworks of venues stitched together by common "ring roads." While host cities generally have a main Olympic Ring that is recognized as the center of events due to the presence of the Olympic Stadium, some host cities have adopted a nodal approach that features multiple clusters of venues. For the purposes of this paper, the term "Olympic Parks" is used interchangeably with "Olympic Rings," and the information provided about them refers to either the node of venues that contains the Olympic Stadium, or that which is defined by the host city bid committee as such.

LOCATION & SIZE

Data available for 2012 reveals Candidate Cities were successful in minimizing the travel distances between the Olympic Village and sporting venues. As Table 2 illustrates, each of the five 2012 Candidate Cities' bids included 10 or more venues within 10 kilometers of the Olympic Village, over 20 venues within 20 kilometers, and a minimum of two thirds of all venues within 20 kilometers. The only venues that exceeded a distance of 100 kilometers were for sailing and football (the latter of which is often necessitated due to the IOC's requirement that four separate cities host football matches).

Table 2: Venue-to-Village Distances by Number of Venues, 2012 Candidates

TRAVEL DISTANCES SUMMARY					
Distance from Olympic Village	**Number of competition venues**				
	Paris 2012	**New York 2012**	**Moscow 2012**	**London 2012**	**Madrid 2012**
0-10 km	21	10	16	13	17
10-20 km	1	11	16	9	7
20-30 km	2	0	1	4	5
30-40 km	1	5	0	0	0
40-50 km	2	2	1	0	0
50-100 km	0	0	0	1	1
100 km +	5 (sailing, football)	3 (football)	0	6 (sailing, football)	5 (sailing, football)
Total	*32*	*31*	*34*	*33*	*35*

Source: IOC 2 (2005)

Table 3: Venue-to-Village Distances by Percentage of Venues, 2012 Candidates

TRAVEL DISTANCES SUMMARY					
Distance from Olympic Village	**Percentage of competition venues**				
	Paris 2012	**New York 2012**	**Moscow 2012**	**London 2012**	**Madrid 2012**
0-10 km	66%	32%	47%	39%	49%
10-20 km	3%	35%	47%	27%	20%
20-30 km	6%	0%	3%	12%	14%
30-40 km	3%	16%	0%	0%	0%
40-50 km	6%	6%	3%	0%	0%
50-100 km	0%	0%	0%	3%	3%
100 km +	16%	10%	0%	18%	14%
Total	*32*	*31*	*34*	*33*	*35*

Source: IOC 2, 2005

Olympic Parks vary greatly in size. Sydney's Homebush Bay covered a sprawling 1,875 acres, while London's recently built Olympic Park covers an efficient 625 acres. (Both parks included the Athletes Village.) The size of Olympic Parks depends on various factors- the number of venues they contain; the amount of public space and parklands that are included; the amount of new commercial and festival space; and, in Olympic Rings that include one, the size and density of the Athletes Village.

VENUES

Both the number of venues and the sports hosted within them at Olympic Rings vary. Sydney's and Atlanta's Olympic Rings hosted 18 and 19 sports[4], respectively. London's and Athens's, on the other hand, hosted only 11 sports. Table 4 highlights the differences and similarities among the Summer Olympic Parks from 1992-2012 in terms of which sports were included in the Olympic Ring. Four sports have been hosted in Olympic Rings every time that they have been offered in this time frame: swimming, diving, synchronized swimming, and athletics. Three others have been hosted by venues within Olympic Rings a majority of the time: water polo, basketball, and artistic gymnastics. These trends offer insight into which sports should and will appear in future Olympic Parks, and which likely will not.

[4] This excludes sports that are not on the current list of Olympic Sports

Table 4: Sports within the Olympic Ring, 1992-2012

OLYMPIC RINGS BY SPORT							
Sport	**Barcelona**	**Atlanta**	**Sydney**	**Athens**	**Beijing**	**London**	**AVERAGE**
Aquatics							
Diving	√	√	√	√	√	√	100%
Swimming	√	√	√	√	√	√	100%
Synchronized Swimming	√	√	√	√	√	√	100%
Water Polo	√	√	√	√		√	83%
Archery			√				20%
Athletics	√	√	√	√	√	√	100%
Badminton		√	√		√		50%
Basketball		√	√	√		√	67%
Boxing		√					17%
Canoe kayak							
Slalom							0%
Sprint							0%
Cycling							
BMX	Not an Olympic Sport					√	50%
Road							0%
Track				√		√	33%
Mountain Bike	Not an Olympic Sport						0%
Equestrian							
Dressage							0%
Eventing							0%
Jumping							0%
Fencing	√	√			√		50%
Football				√	√		33%
Golf	Not an Olympic Sport						0%

Sport	Barcelona	Atlanta	Sydney	Athens	Beijing	London	AVERAGE
Gymnastics							
Artistic Gymnastics	√	√	√	√	√		83%
Rhythmic Gymnastics	√		√		√		50%
Trampoline	Not an Olympic Sport		√	√	√		75%
Handball	√	√	√		√	√	83%
Hockey		√	√			√	50%
Judo		√					17%
Modern pentathlon	√	√	√			√	67%
Rowing							0%
Rugby	Not an Olympic Sport						0%
Sailing							0%
Shooting							0%
Table tennis		√	√				33%
Taekwondo		Not an Olympic Sport	√				20%
Tennis			√	√			33%
Triathlon	Not an Olympic Sport						0%
Volleyball							
Beach volleyball	Not an Olympic Sport						0%
Volleyball	√	√	√		√		67%
Weightlifting	√	√					40%
Wrestling							
Greco-Roman	√	√			√		50%
Freestyle	√	√			√		50%

Sources: Official Reports of the Olympic Games (1996-2008); Olympic.org (2013)

ATHLETES VILLAGES

LOCATION & SIZE

The IOC uses several criteria in evaluating Olympic Village proposals. Logistically, it observes the distance between the Village and the Olympic Stadium- a location to which virtually all participating athletes must travel at least twice during the Games. Table 5 shows that among the five 2012 Candidate Cities, two Olympic Village concepts were within walking distance of the Olympic Stadium, and the three others were within 10 kilometers. Additionally, all the Candidate Cities' Olympic Villages were less than 40 kilometers from the main gateway airport and less than 15 kilometers from the city center.

Table 5: Select IOC Evaluation Metrics, 2012 Candidate Olympic Village Proposals

OLYMPIC VILLAGE CONCEPTS, 2012 CANDIDATES								
	Area (hectares)	**New or Existing?**	**Post-Games Use**	**Construction Authority**	**Maximum building height**	**Distance from Olympic Stadium**	**Distance from Airport**	**Distance from City Centre**
Paris	45	new	residential/ mixed-use	City of Paris	11-12 stories	10 km	24 km	4 km
New York	25	new	residential	Private	40 stories	6 km	25 km	within
Moscow	80	new	residential	Private	22 stories	6 km	32 km	7 km
London	30*	new	residential	Public/Private	13 stories	adjacent	39 km	14 km
Madrid	85	new	residential (social/private)	City Council	6 stories	adjacent	8 km	9 km
*27, according to London 2012 (IOC evaluation rounds to the nearest 5)								

Source: IOC 2 (2005)

While the size of Olympic Villages varies greatly and appears to be a flexible variable, data available from the past three IOC evaluations suggests that the Village's proximity to the Olympic Park is less negotiable. As Table 6 shows, each of the past three cities selected to host the Summer Olympics has located the Olympic Village in close proximity to the Olympic Park.

Table 6: Athlete's Village Proximity to Olympic Park

Host City (Year)	Size	Distance from Olympic Park
Beijing (2008)	80 hectares	adjacent
London (2012)	27 hectares	adjacent
Rio (2016)	75 hectares	~5 km

Source: Olympic.org (2013)

HOUSING RIGHTS

One of the greatest concerns the Olympics evoke among community members are those related to housing rights and gentrification. Olympic scholar Helen Lenskyj points to the following issues as common among host cities (Lenskyj, 2006):

- *Evictions of tenants from low-rent housing, particularly in Olympic precincts and downtown areas, to make way for Olympic tourists*
- *Evictions resulting from gentrification and beautification of low-income areas*
- *Significant decrease in boarding house stock*
- *Artificially inflated real estate prices*
- *Unchanged or weakened tenant protection legislation, resulting in rent increases and evictions without cause, a problem for low-income tenants in particular*
- *The criminalization of poverty and homelessness through legislation increasing police powers over homeless and under-housed people in public spaces*
- *Temporary or permanent privatization of public space*
- *Temporary or permanent suppression of human rights, particularly freedom of assembly*

So what can host cities do to mitigate these concerns? COHRE identifies several best practices for protecting housing rights during the Games (COHRE, 2007):

- *Regulating the involvement of private industry, in particular where their actions could impact upon housing rights (such as construction of Olympics-related projects)*
- *Ensuring the full participation of local communities in decision making that affects their enjoyment of the right to adequate housing*
- *Conducting full social impact assessments at different stages, including at the bid, planning, preparation, staging and post-event periods*
- *Entering into formal commitments to ensure that there are no Olympics-related displacements or evictions, or to require outcomes having a positive impact on housing, as part of the bid process*
- *Establishing protocols and other commitments regarding the treatment and protection of the homeless and other minorities*
- *Legislating to protect the right to adequate housing*
- *Committing to housing-positive regeneration strategies for disadvantaged areas*
- *Planning for post-Olympics use of venues for social housing*
- *Building strong community activism*

While several host cities have made attempts to allocate a portion of the units built for the Games towards affordable housing, these efforts often fall short of expectations. Barcelona's city council, for instance, had promised to incorporate subsidized housing into the Olympic Village, but by the time the 6,000 units had sold in 1991 only 76 were sold below market rate (Lenskyj 2006). London promised to set aside flats from the Olympic Village for affordable social housing (1,379 of the 2,818 units are designated as "affordable"), but legislation passed in 2011 allows for the units to be sold at up to 80 percent of market value-calling into question the definition of "affordable" (Cooper, 2012).

Salt Lake City offers a more successful story (at the project level) in terms of delivering affordable housing units. Built with the help of Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) dollars, three apartments were completed in 2001 that offered housing for Olympic media workers during the Games, and resulted in almost 500 new housing units, of which 276 were affordable at 40, 50, and 60 of Area Median Income (Antoine, 2004). Salt Lake City, along with Atlanta, also took the approach of converting its Olympic Village into university housing, which helped meet an institutional need and reduced the amount of labor required to convert the units into post-Games use.

There are also some positive examples with respect to mitigating social impacts more broadly. Melbourne's 1996 bid team, for instance, made the rare step of commissioning a social impact study *before* the bid was submitted (Lenskyj, 2006). The Sydney Games adopted an official Homeless Protocol for officials to follow in their treatment of the homeless during the Games. Further, Sydney and Vancouver[5] both introduced legislation to protect tenants from rising housing costs through rent control and the allocation of public dollars toward social housing. That said, rents increased by 40% in Sydney from 1996 to 2003, suggesting such policies do not necessarily yield the desired impact (COHRE, 2007).

[5] Note: Vancouver and Salt Lake City were Winter Olympics hosts

PART IV: CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY # 1

"REGENERATION" GAMES: REVITALIZING INDUSTRIAL WATERFRONTS IN BARCELONA AND LONDON

BARCELONA 1992

Barcelona's 1992 Olympic Games are frequently cited as a successful example in establishing Olympic legacy through urban regeneration. With 83 percent of budget expenditures going towards urban improvements, the Games catalyzed investment in projects that expanded the city's metro system and airport, developed 4,500 apartment units and 5,000 hotel rooms, constructed ring roads, rehabilitated the historic quarter of the city, and established new public space (Gold, 2008). Many of the projects undertaken were already planned, but were put on the fast-track due to enhanced political cooperation and funding streams the Olympics encouraged.

Perhaps the most significant catalytic project was the reclamation of the seafront to develop the Olympic Village and harbor. Built on mostly empty industrial sites along the Mediterranean in the Sant Marti district, the Olympic Village was envisioned to become a "normal area of the city perfectly integrated to it and with it" (Nel-lo, 1997). The plan for the area focused on three major priorities: infrastructure, urban morphology, and land use. In order to reconnect the new neighborhood to the city, 4 kilometers' worth of coastal railway tracks were re-motioned. Other railways, in addition to new highways, were buried underground to further reduce the physical barriers between the seafront and the rest of the city. These efforts provided public access to 50 hectares of new parkland, 4 kilometers of restored beaches along the coastline[6] and a 700-boat marina. (Not to mention a sculpture of a giant goldfish designed by Frank Gehry, pictured in the middle of Figure 4.) These new amenities, in concert with a mixture of land uses and continuous, traditional network of streets and plazas, created a new and accessible destination district that has proven viable beyond the Games (Nel-lo, 1997).

Figure 4: Barcelona's Olympic Village

Source: Liebetreu (2011)

[6] Prior to the Games, much of the seafront was a dumping grounds for household and industrial waste.

By some measures, the Olympic Village has thrived. The apartments were put on the market for an average of 1,444 euro per square meter between 1990 and 1996, with fairly little variation year to year. Compared to the 1993 average price of 1,409 euro per square meter in Barcelona proper and 1,177 euro per square meter in the Sant Marti district (home to the Village), the Olympic Village was by no means a poor neighborhood. In fact, the neighborhood has evolved into one of the most expensive in the city, with the average 2002 price of a flat increasing by 2.5 to 3 times the original cost, and the price of the seafront units to as much a 5 times the original cost. As of 2002, the average household income in the Olympic Village was 49 percent higher than the city average, and the percentage of the population with college degrees is three times the city average (Carbonell, 2002).

The construction of the Olympic Village and other nearby developments for the Games has not evaded controversy, however. Between 1986 (when Barcelona was announced as the host city) and 1992, new home prices rose by 240 percent. Rental affordability did not fare much better - prices increased 145% from 1986 to 1993. Over 600 families were evicted from areas slated for Olympic development; 147 families in the Poblenou neighborhood- where the Village was constructed, 282 families living in various informal settlements, and 195 families living in areas slated for ring road construction. Eviction had an especially negative impact on Romani communities; 90 percent of the Roma population living adjacent to the Olympic Village was relocated, often through dispersion efforts in the secondary housing market. Further, the availability of public housing decreased by 76 percent from 1986-1992 (COHRE, 2007). These trends are compounded by the fact that while the Olympic Village's housing units were supposed to be introduced to the market at low-to-moderate rents, this clearly was not the case after the Games (Garcia-Ramon, 2000). With little government intervention, many Barcelona residents have been crowded out beyond the Games by an increasingly expensive housing market.

LONDON 2012

Since 1992, multiple host cities have employed aspects of the Barcelona redevelopment model along industrial waterfront property. The most recent example can be found in the London 2012 Games and its Olympic Park in the city's East End, which the Mayor of London referred to as "Barcelona-on-Thames" (Beard, 2011).

Colin Haylock, President of Haylock Planning and Design, was involved in planning London's Olympic Park, and conversations with him reveal that the selection of the Olympic Park's site was a calculated choice by the city. In his words, "the strategy was very clearly if we were going to bid for the Olympics, we were going to use it to help repair damage in our city and repair our city, help us prepare for enormous population growth." If you have an understanding about the historic pattern of London, you recognize the River Thames running through the city of London and Westminster north of the river. Not a lot of development south of the river in Stratford, where the Olympics are based" (Haylock, 2013).

The realization of London's Olympic Park was aided in part by the perception that no human settlement existed in the area, which was not quite true. Additionally, even though 300 businesses were displaced, many of them were small firms with little political influence. This gave off the impression that regeneration of the "blighted" East End would come at little social cost, providing a "conveniently

dystopic image against which to juxtapose the shining future apparently on offer" by the area's development (Gold, 2007).

Just like in past Games, the development of the Olympic Park was not universally popular. Among the most contentious issues was the clearance of the Clays Lane housing estate, a mixture of housing typologies dedicated to at-risk single residents. The neighborhood's 425 residents were forced to leave in 2007 to make way for the Olympic Park (Clarke, 2013). While the clearance of the East End neighborhood was legitimized by authorities as a means to revitalizing blight, Clays Lane was only built in 1982 and according to the London Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA) it had "unique qualities" with "an informal mutual support system among neighbors." While ODA helped relocate Clays Lane residents, their old support system was eliminated and new rents rose by an average of roughly $90 a month (Welch, 2012).

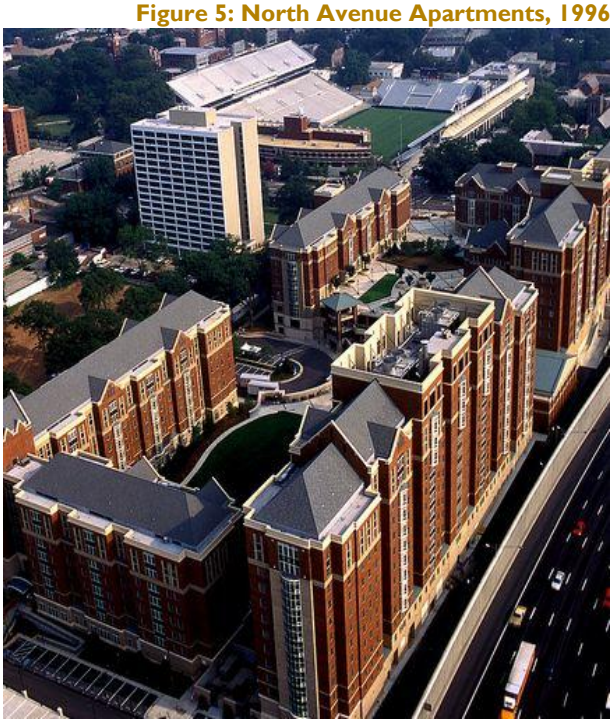
CASE STUDY # 2

THINKING PRACTICALLY: ADAPTIVE PROJECTS IN ATLANTA'S CITY CORE

Atlanta's 1996 Games were strongly planned around existing venues. However, where new construction projects were called for, the bid team was strategic in terms of how newly constructed venues would achieve sustainable use. The Olympic Stadium, as pictured and discussed in the literature review, was designed to be converted into a new baseball stadium for the Atlanta Braves. The Aquatic Center was retrofitted to become the Georgia Institute of Technology's Campus Recreation Center. By establishing institutional connections and specific end uses for newly constructed facilities, Atlanta's Games successfully avoided the creation of "white elephant" venues that are infamously prominent in other Olympic cities.

The Atlanta Games also employed a practical tactic in their plan for the future of the Olympic Village. For instance, the North Avenue Apartments (pictured in Figure 5) have been integrated into the Georgia Institute of Technology's stock of on-campus housing (after initially serving as student apartments for Georgia State University).

Figure 5: North Avenue Apartments, 1996



Source: :Georgia Tech Flickr Account (Accessed 2013)

More broadly, the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA) developed an Olympic Legacy Program that entailed replacing dense public housing projects with mixed-income, lower density communities. Among the largest projects was the conversion of Techwood Homes (the nation's first public housing project) and Clark Howell Homes into Centennial Place and the conversion of East Lake Meadows into the Villages at East Lake. Both projects utilized HOPE VI funds and were approved for demolition in 1995 in the lead up to the Games. As a result, the AHA relocated over 1,500 families. Due to rules changes in 1995 that eliminated one-for-one housing unit replacement requirements for HOPE VI projects, the plan for the two developments resulted in the replacement of 1,845 units of public housing with 1,442 privately managed mixed-income units, of which only 811 were set aside for low-income households (Newman, 2001). Some have hailed the effort as a successful example of poverty de-concentration and neighborhood revitalization. Critics, however, have criticized the AHA for reducing an already depleted stock of affordable housing, and fault the Olympics with hastening the process.

CASE STUDY # 3

LOOKING BACK: THE WASHINGTON-BALTIMORE REGIONAL COALITION

SUMMARY

The Washington-Baltimore Regional Coalition was among eight US bids initially under consideration to represent the United States as a Candidate City for the 2012 Olympics.[7] The major theme of the bid was "Live Regionalism," which emphasized the Washington-Baltimore region over favoring a single city. (Among the other bids, only Tampa-Orlando was officially branded as a regional coalition.) Washington-Baltimore advanced to the second round of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) considerations with three other cities, but was eliminated alongside Houston when the committee further narrowed its list to two. (New York ultimately received the nod over San Francisco, but was eliminated from IOC selection process in the second round of voting.)

THE PROS AND CONS

Among the most attractive elements of the Washington-Baltimore bid was its relatively low budget. According to an economic impact study conducted in 2000 by researchers from the University of Baltimore and George Mason University, the Washington-Baltimore Games would have cost $2 billion in construction and operations (a price tag lower than that of any of the host cities in the past 20 years), with an estimated $5.3 billion in total economic impact and 70,000 new jobs leading up to the event (Thomson, 2012).

The (projected) low cost of bid was due in large part to a strong emphasis on utilizing existing venues for sporting competitions, in addition to existing campus housing for the Olympic Village. While this approach was strong from a fiscal point of view, it was not without its drawbacks. As the Best Practices section of this report demonstrates, all of the 2012 Candidate Cities had at least two out of three venues within a 20 km radius of the Olympic Village. By contrast, only one out of three venues in the Washington-Baltimore bid fit this criteria. Additionally, the venues themselves were spaced significantly apart from each other relative to the host cities of the past 20 years; the last six host cities have averaged 10 venues just within the *Olympic Ring*, while the Washington-Baltimore bid's most significant "cluster" entailed eight venues within the entire Washington, D.C. *city limits* (Washington-Baltimore Regional Coalition, 2001). Thus, in its desire to almost exclusively utilize existing venues and minimize construction costs, the bid team essentially submitted a collection of sprawled venues rather than a true Olympic Park.

Another weakness of the bid was simply a matter of nomenclature. It is no secret that the Euro-centric IOC has a political reputation, and (according to the bid's organizers) the Washington-Baltimore submission was rejected by the USOC because of the plans stemming from the nation's capital to commence an unpopular invasion in Iraq (Neuman, 2002). More broadly, the fact that two cities were

[7] Cincinnati, Dallas, Houston, Los Angeles, New York City, Tampa-Orlando, and San Francisco comprised the remaining bid teams.

attached to the bid - regardless of their names - was also a risk to its candidature. In the entire history of the modern Olympic Games, no joint-city bid has *ever* become a Candidate City (Games Bids, 2013), and there has been no indication that the infamously traditional IOC will accept one in the future.[8]

[8] This being said, there have been successful bids that incorporate aspects of regionalism. The issue raised by the author is more in regards to the branding of the Games under multiple cities' names.

PART V: PLANNING A BALTIMORE OLYMPIC PARK AND VILLAGE

WHY BALTIMORE?

From a geographic standpoint, Baltimore's location in the Mid-Atlantic region is strategic in that it represents uncharted territory in the Olympic movement. Three cities in the United States have hosted the Summer Olympics- St. Louis, Los Angeles and Atlanta- none of which represented the Mid-Atlantic or Northeast regions of the US. In fact, the closest any Summer Olympic Games have ever come to Baltimore were the 1976 Montreal Games in Quebec, Canada- over 500 miles away. More broadly, ten North American cities (shown below) have hosted either the Summer or Winter Games. With Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. all in range for same-day travel, Baltimore offers the opportunity to tap into the Northeast corridor's large population for a high level of spectatorship.

Figure 6: Past North American Olympic Host Cities

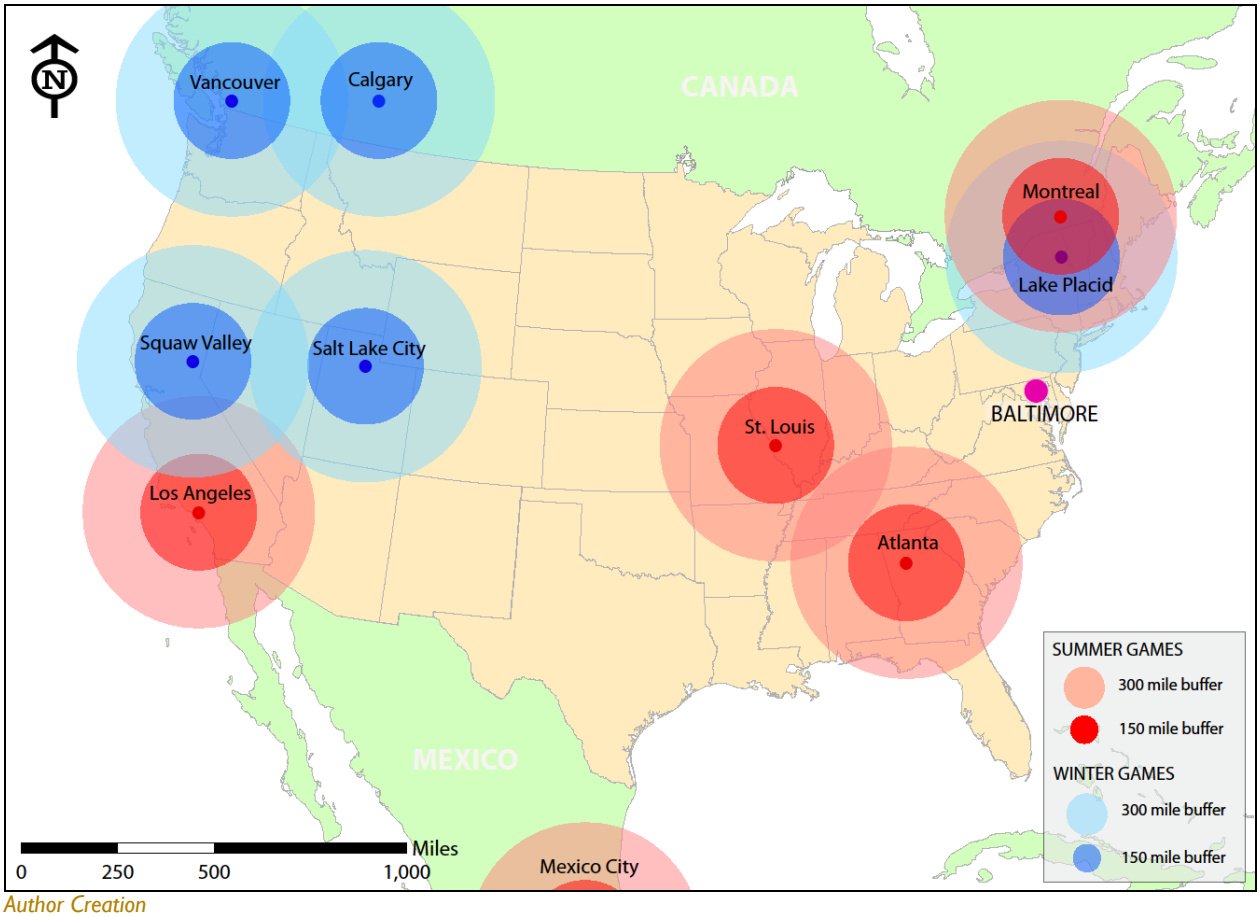


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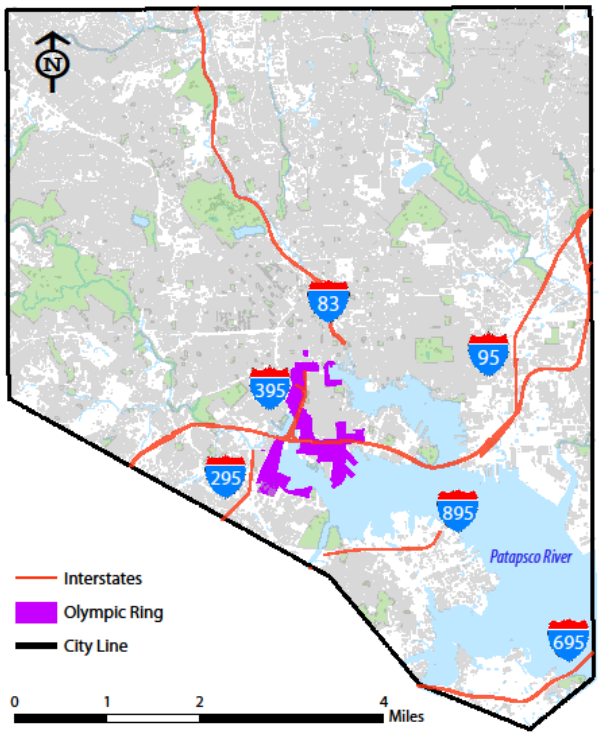
Figure 7: Proposed Baltimore Olympic Ring



Author Creation

Baltimore's geography is a tremendous strength due to its strong transportation connections within the Northeast corridor. In addition to hosting one of the nation's largest seaports, the city has direct transit access to Baltimore-Washington International (BWI) Thurgood Marshall airport, Washington D.C.'s Union Station the city lies along the Interstate 95 corridor with convenient highway and rail access from surrounding regions' transportation hubs.

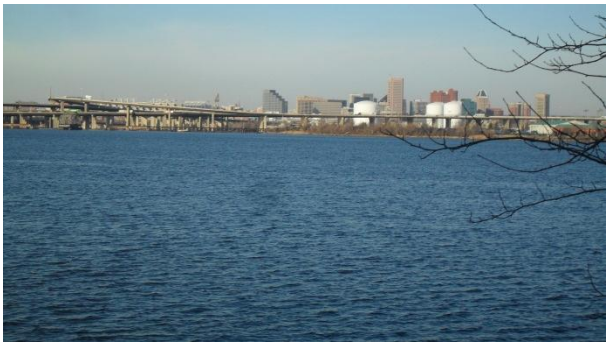
Just as importantly, Baltimore has a strong culture of sport. In addition to its distinction as the place 19-time Olympic gold medalist Michael Phelps calls home, Baltimore boasts professional American football and baseball franchises, a professional indoor soccer team, and several Division I universities. This collection of assets underpins Baltimore's strength not only in terms of existing infrastructure for Olympic competition, but also for training sites. With respect to capacity, Baltimore regularly hosts popular large-scale sporting events, including international soccer friendlies and an annual grand prix street race in the heart of downtown.

While much can be said about whether or not Baltimore could serve as a worthy Olympic host city, this paper's goal is not to explicitly establish why Baltimore might make an ideal candidate to host the Olympics. Rather, it focuses specifically on why Baltimore's Middle Branch *is* the ideal candidate to host the epicenter of Olympic activity in the form of an Olympic Park and Athletes Village, and what long-term urban development goals for the city might be accomplished as a result.

MAKING THE CASE FOR BALTIMORE'S MIDDLE BRANCH

With almost instant access to Interstates 95, 295, 395, 895 and multiple existing light rail stations, the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River lies just south of downtown Baltimore, and is home to a true natural treasure: a waterfront three times the size of the Inner Harbor. While the area presents great potential for future development and community recreation, much of the area is underutilized and cut off from surrounding communities by a tangled web of highways, flyovers, and rail yards.

Figure 8:
View of the Patapsco from Middle Branch Park



Source: Author

Figure 9: Elevated Highways and Light Rail

Source: Author

While plans have been made in the past several years for various development projects in the Middle Branch, progress has been stagnant. The Olympics present a unique opportunity to not only catalyze development, but also to reconnect the area's neighborhoods and restore the area's damaged water quality and wildlife habitat. More specifically, the Olympics and the funding stream that come with them would present an opportunity to more actively pursue and accomplish the goals of the Middle Branch Master Plan. Adopted in 2007 by the Baltimore City Planning Commission, the master plan's vision is to "redevelop and revitalize the Middle Branch estuary and waterfront as a mixed-use community through economic and community redevelopment, ecosystem restoration and protection, and recreation and education programs coordinated within a sustainable framework" (Baltimore City Planning Commission, 2007).

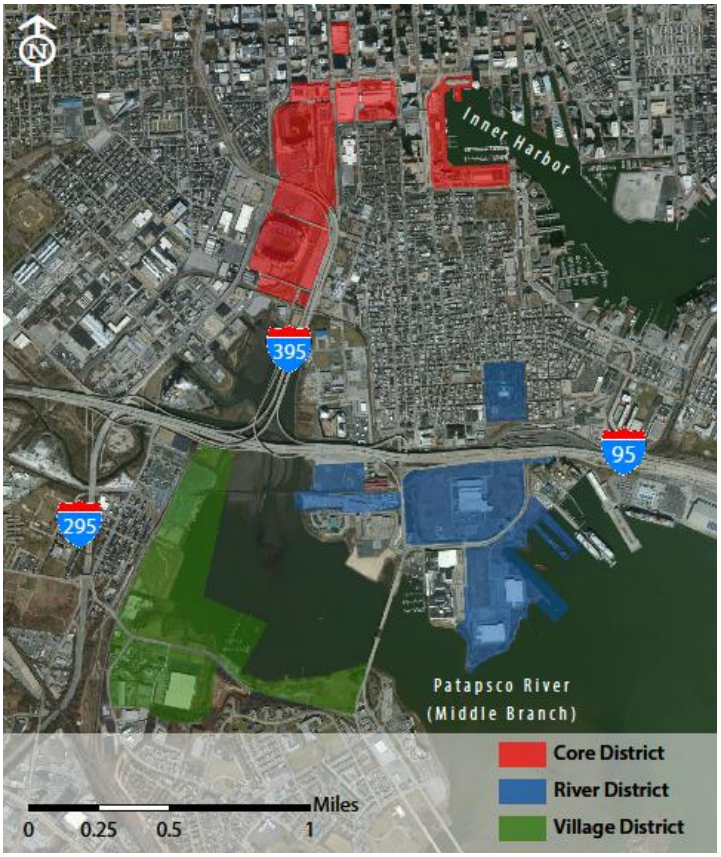
PROJECT AREA OVERVIEW

PROJECT NODES

Figure 10 illustrates the proposed area for a Baltimore Olympic Ring. Within the project area, there are three connected districts. The Core District and the River District together will host the sporting venues within the Olympic Park, with immediate access to public transit and visitor accommodations. The third area, the Village District, will be the site of the Olympic Village, which will house a majority of the athletes and NOC officials.

The parcels in the Olympic Ring's three districts lie within a 1.5 mile radius and combine for a total of 520 acres. The Core District lies in the core of downtown Baltimore with direct access to the Inner Harbor. The River District and Village District lie less than a mile away from the Core District's southern edge, and are situated along the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River.

Figure10: Proposed Olympic Ring



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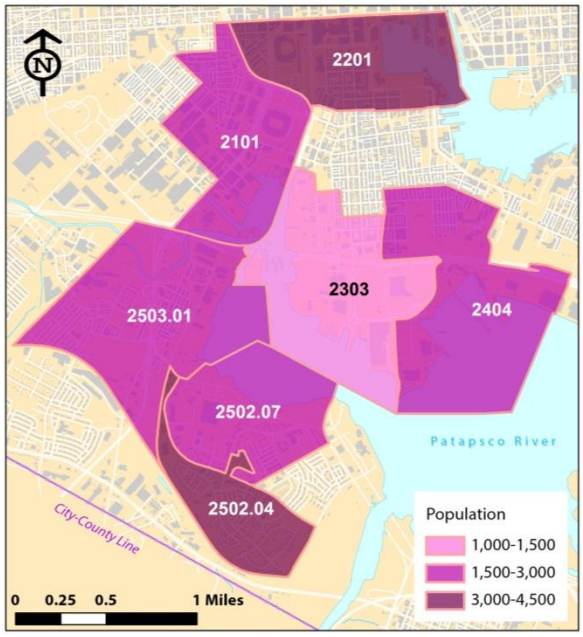
PROJECT AREA CONDITIONS

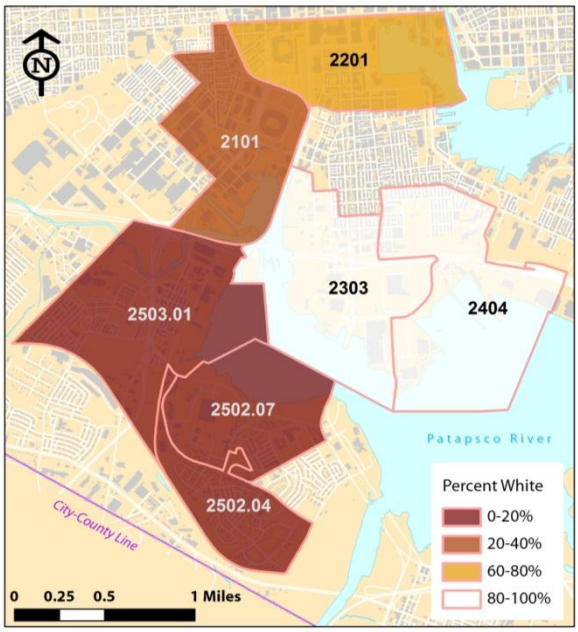
The proposed Olympic Ring intersects seven US Census tracts. These tracts account for a combined population of roughly 18,500- down from 19,100 in 2000. Roughly 45 percent of these residents are concentrated in two tracts, as shown in Figure 11. As shown in Figure 12, the area is segregated by race. Among the seven tracts, three are over 90 percent black and two are over 85 percent white. Overall, the Olympic Ring is 54 percent black and 41 percent white, with other races making up only 5 percent of the remaining population. (Exact figures for each tract can be found in the appendix.)

Figure 11: Population by Census Tract, 2010



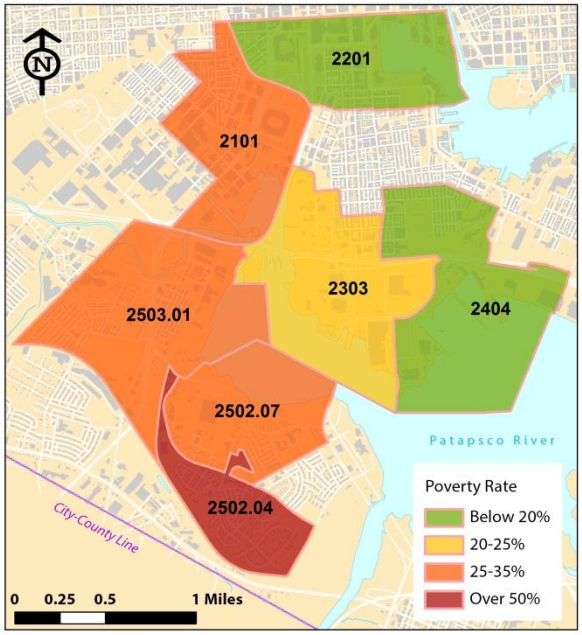
Source: US Census (2010)

Figure 12: Race by Census Tract, 2010



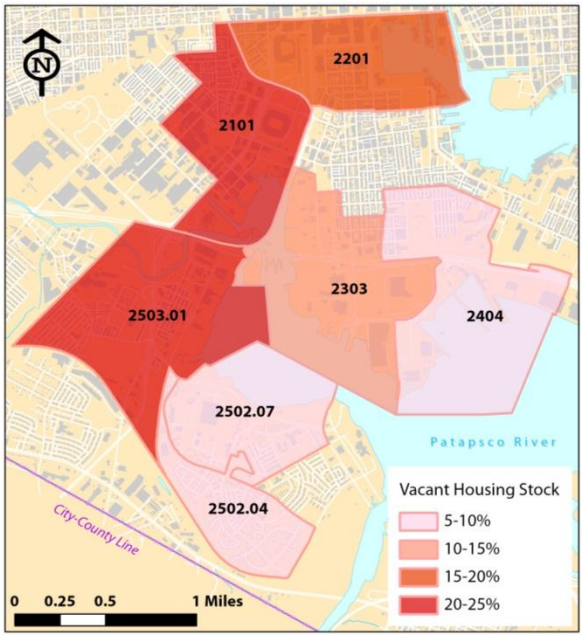
Source: US Census (2010)

Figure 13: Poverty by Census Tract, 2000



Source: US Census (2000)

Figure 14:
Vacant Housing Rates by Census Tract, 2010



Source: US Census (2000)

Poverty available from 2000 demonstrates that race and poverty are correlated, with the southern tracts having the highest poverty rates. With respect to vacant housing, the highest concentrations of vacant units are in the two western census tracts in the project area (See Figure 14). Among them is tract 2503.01, the location of the Westport neighborhood and a majority of the housing within the proposed Olympic Village. As Figures 15 shows, many of the homes in Westport have fallen into disrepair. Interestingly, the tracts in the Cherry Hill neighborhood - comprised of tracts 2502.07 and 2502.04 - have the lowest vacancy rates despite being one of the poorest neighborhoods in the city. This is due in part to the large stock of subsidized housing in the neighborhood that is owned by the Baltimore Housing Authority.

Figure 15: Homes in Westport

Source: Author

Another concern is the deteriorated state of the natural environment. While the Middle Branch is home to seagulls, herons, and other wildlife, many corners of the shoreline are not conducive to healthy habitats for wildlife. As can be seen in Figure 16, a large amount of litter has built up.

Figure 16: Litter Along the Shoreline

Source: Author

GAMES CONCEPT- VENUES

The Olympic Ring will host eighteen sports in nine different facilities, in addition to accommodations for athlete and National Olympic Committee officials. This section highlights the concept for sports and accommodations and identifies existing structures and facilities within each district.

CORE DISTRICT

The Core District consists of six venues within or proximate to downtown. The district is strictly comprised of existing or already planned venues, including the Baltimore Convention Center, First Mariner Arena, the Inner Harbor and Rash Field, M & T Bank Stadium, and Oriole Park at Camden Yards. The district also contains the site of the proposed Baltimore Arena and Convention Center expansion project. The Core District will connect the Olympic Ring with downtown Baltimore's amenities and hotels, in addition to the University of Maryland Medical Center, and will host eleven sports, as summarized in Figure 17 and Table 9.

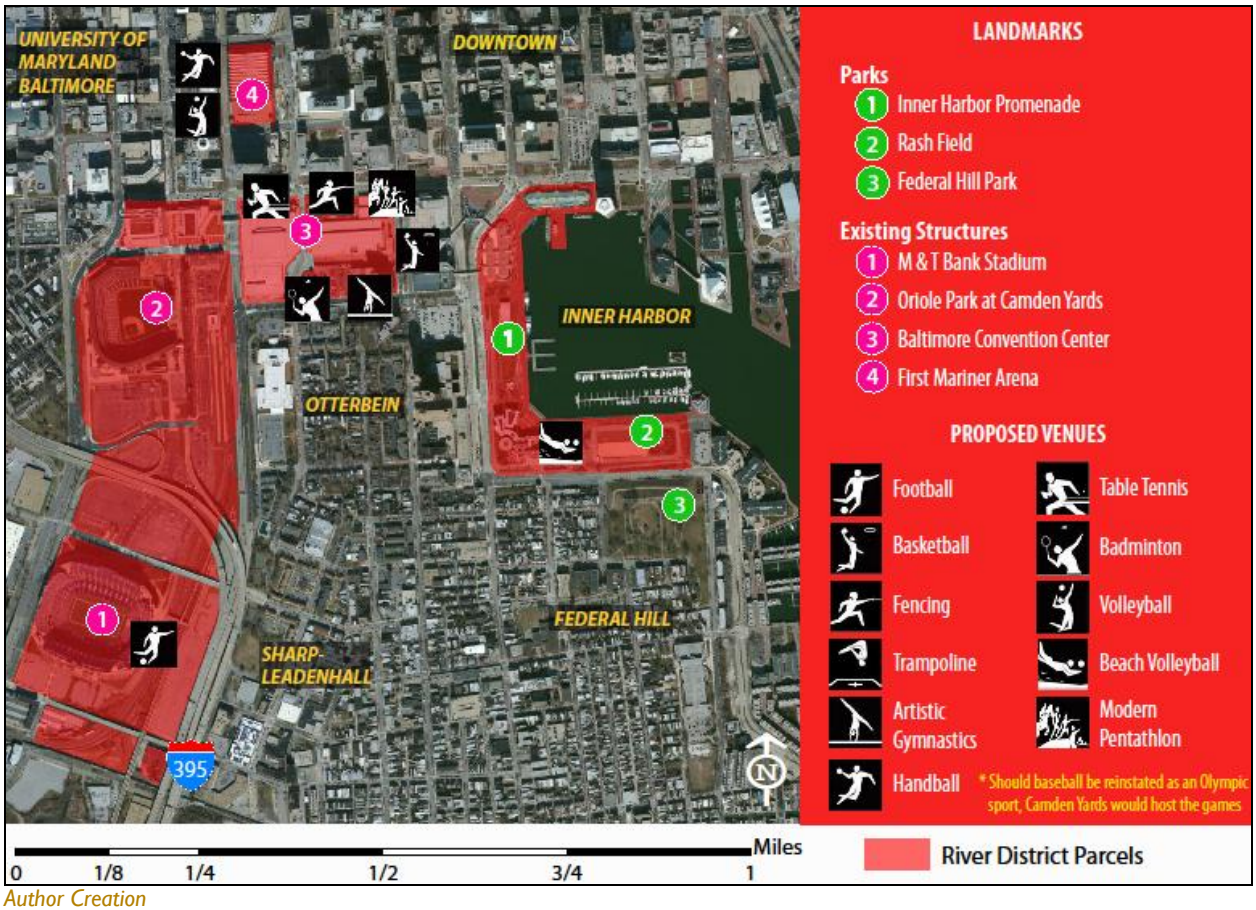
RIVER DISTRICT

The River District lies between the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River to the south and a CSX rail yard and elevated highway to its north. The two largest chunks of the district consist of the *Baltimore Sun* newspaper production plant and the Port Covington Shopping Center- an unfinished, largely empty development comprised of a Wal-Mart and a vacant building that formerly housed a Sam's Club. This district will bridge the gap between the Core District, adjacent neighborhoods north of the CSX rail yard, and the waterfront. The River District will host seven sports, as summarized in Figure 18 and Table 10.

VILLAGE DISTRICT

The Village District lies just south of the interchange between Interstates 95 and 395, adjacent to the river. The area is comprised mostly of vacant or underutilized land, in addition to Middle Branch Park. The western portion of the district is the location of the proposed $1.4 billion, 43-acre Westport Waterfront project, a LEED Platinum mixed-use development that has received City but has yet to break ground. The Village District will house the Olympic Village, which will accommodate a majority of the athletes and National Olympic Committee (NOC) officials. In addition to its stunning waterfront views, the Village District's location is ideal due its close proximity to Harbor Hospital, which lies within walking distance and will serve as one of the Games' flagship hospitals. Figure 19 and Table 11 summarize the proposed Village elements.

Figure 17: Core District Athletic Venues

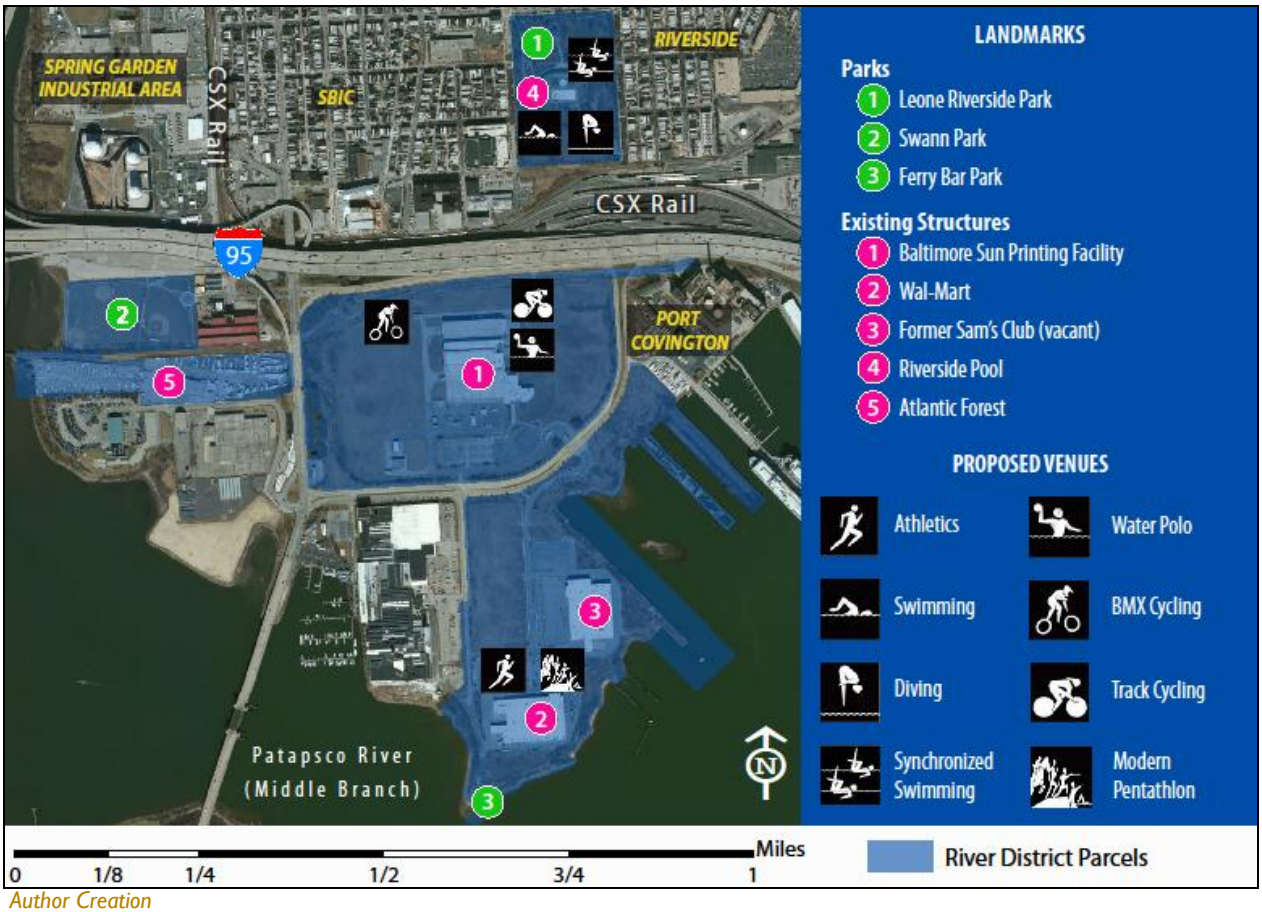


Author Creation

Table 7: Proposed Sports by Venue, Core District

Venue	New or Existing?	Temporary Venue?	Sports
Baltimore Arena/ Convention Center Expansion	New (planned)	No	Gymnastics-Artistic Gymnastics-Trampoline Basketball Medal Round
Convention Center	Existing	No	Handball Fencing Modern Pentathlon Table tennis
First Mariner Arena	Existing	No	Badminton Volleyball
M & T Bank Stadium	Existing	No	Football
Oriole Park at Camden Yards	Existing	No	Baseball*
Rash Field	Existing (with upgrades)	No	Beach volleyball
*Pending IOC vote to reinstate baseball as an Olympic sport; venue can also be used for gathering			

Figure 18: River District Athletic Venues



Author Creation

Table 8: Proposed Sports by Venue, River District

Venue	New or Existing?	Temporary Venue?	Sports
Baltimore Velodrome/ Multi-Purpose Recreation Facility	New	No	Cycling-Track Water Polo
BMX Track	New	No	Cycling- BMX
Olympic Stadium	New	Yes	Athletics
Riverside Aquatic Center	Existing (With upgrades)	No (Downsize after Games	Diving Modern Pentathlon Swimming Synchronized Swimming

Figure 19: Olympic Village Elements

Author Creation

Table 9: Proposed Olympic Village Components

Component	New or Existing?	Temporary?	Functions
Cherry Hill TOD	New (proposed)	No	Athlete housing
Middle Branch Park	Existing (with some upgrades)	No	Athlete rest and recreation area, including private beach
Middle Branch Marina	Existing	No	Athlete recreation
Westport Waterfront	New (planned)	No	Athlete housing
Westport Yacht Marina	New	No	NOC member housing

GAMES CONCEPT-CONNECTIVITY

The Olympics bring massive crowds to host cities. Accommodating the efficient movement of such a large influx of people presents a unique challenge, and often provokes local concerns over travel logistics and traffic delays Atlanta's record-setting crowds during the Centennial Olympic Games provide a clear example of this challenge, with over 8 million tickets sold over the two-week period (Guinness World Records, 2013) By centering the Games around the city's core, encouraging the use of existing rail transit, implementing strategic road closures, and temporarily hiring hundreds of bus drivers from neighboring states for a comprehensive shuttle system, the issue of connectivity was largely a non-factor. In fact, traffic was noted to have improved during the Games! While this is due in part to changes in local habits in anticipation of the Games, it also reflects the importance of multi-modal transport at the scale of the city and region, and of the ease of mobility within the Olympic Ring. This section highlights how Baltimore can deliver a successful logistics plan for the Games that connects athletes, officials, and visitors with Olympic venues and minimizes gridlock for local residents.

CORE DISTRICT

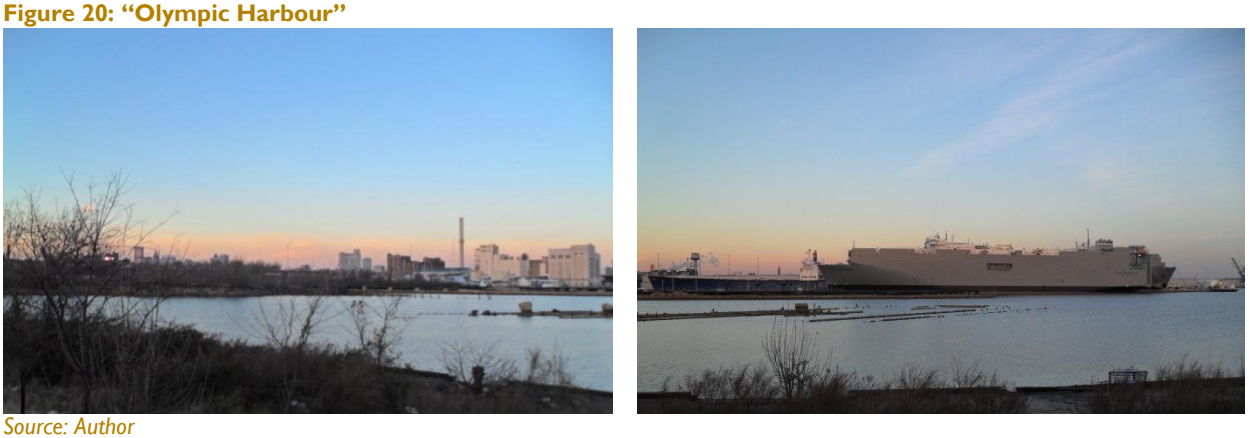
The Core District is directly served by four existing light rail stations (M & T Bank Stadium, Camden Yards, Convention Center, and First Mariner Arena) and one metro subway station (Charles Center), an existing Maryland Area Regional Commuter (MARC) train station at Camden Yards with service to Washington, D.C. The node is served by multiple bus routes, including the Charm City Circulator- a free bus that connects downtown to several surrounding neighborhoods. Additionally, the Core District will receive new light rail service upon construction of the Baltimore Red Line, and houses the proposed site for a Magnetic Levitation (Maglev) train station that would provide service to BWI Airport and Washington, D.C. at speeds of 200 miles per hour[9]. The district lies just north of Interstate 95 and is readily accessible via the Interstate 395 spur. The district is also intersected by multiple Charm City Circulator routes- which connect downtown Baltimore to several surrounding neighborhoods at no charge to riders- in addition to an extensive network of MTA bus routes. Enhanced access to and from the other project nodes will be provided by an Olympic shuttle system, strategic road closures for pedestrian traffic, and an expansion of the existing water taxi network that incorporates supplemental vessels and provides service to satellite parking facilities.

[9]In 1998, Congress established the Maglev Deployment Program to address transportation needs and demonstrate the feasibility of new high-speed rail technology. Baltimore-Washington developed a proposal to provide service from downtown Baltimore to downtown Washington (a 40-mile trip) in under 20 minutes, and the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) selected the Baltimore-Washington Maglev project in 2001 as one of two finalists in a national competition for federal funding to construct a Maglev line, but funding has yet to be allocated (BW Maglev 2003). The Maryland Department of Transportation's application for a $1.7 billion grant from FRA was rejected in 2010 because the project was "not ready" and needed to include a commitment by the state to contribute to the project budget (Dresser 2010). Nevertheless, the project remains eligible for federal funds in the future and Baltimore Development Corporation (Baltimore City's non-profit development arm) retains a full-time staffer to continue advocating for the project.

RIVER DISTRICT

While no rail transit currently exists in the district, venues will be accessible via an efficient Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) shuttle service connecting the district to the nearby light rail station at M & T Bank Stadium, in addition to a new light rail line along Light Street that connects via a new street extension across the rail yards and under the interstate along the area's northern edge. The district's location on the Patapsco River also makes it ideal to be a hub for water transportation, and a system of water taxis will allow spectators to travel from the Inner Harbor and satellite parking facilities along the river. With ready access to the cruise ship terminal and a restored waterfront, the River District will serve as the Games' "Olympic Harbour" and allow visitors to dock within walking distance of the Olympic Stadium. This will not only reduce the strain on transportation modes, but also will supplement the temporary demand for accommodations during the Games.

Figure 20: "Olympic Harbour"



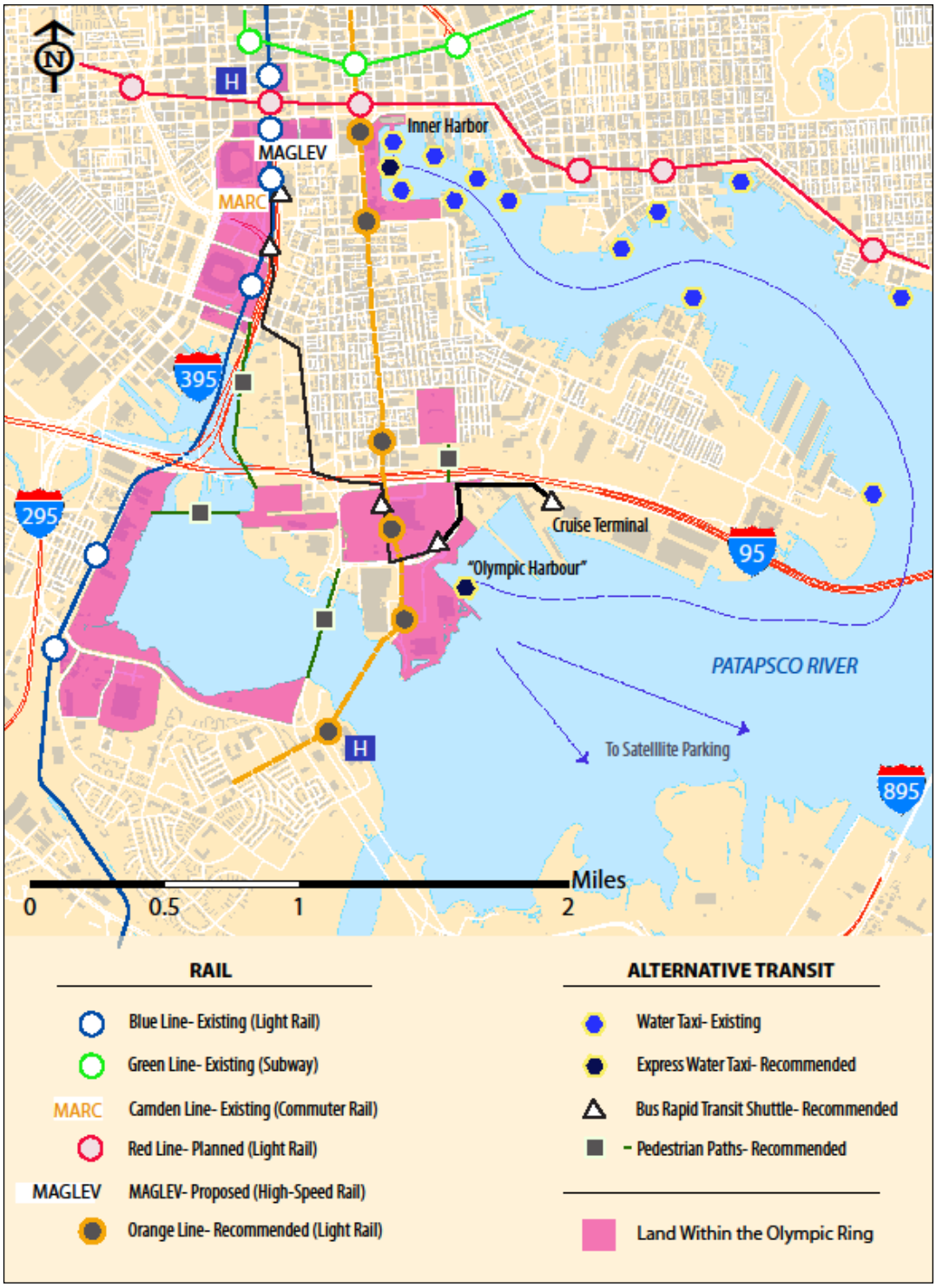
Source: Author

In order to connect Leone Riverside Park to the rest of the River District, a pedestrian overpass will be constructed over the interstate and rail yards (See Figure 21.) This would not be an unprecedented approach to overcome connectivity barriers within the Olympic Ring; the Torino 2006 Winter Olympics featured a pedestrian bridge that also crossed over a stretch of highway and rail yards. Other non-Olympic examples, such as the Millennium Park overpass in Chicago, provide additional insight into gracefully connecting parkland segments with elevated paths. (Figures can be found in the appendix.) In addition to connecting residents to an expanded park network and to the waterfront, the bridge will also become an iconic gateway of architecture greeting visitors to the city, and could incorporate an advertising component that would enhance branding efforts and raise revenues.

Figure 21: Connecting Leone Riverside Park to River District

Author Creation

Figure 22: Connecting Leone Riverside Park to River District



Author Creation

VILLAGE DISTRICT

The Village will house multi-modal transportation options offering connecting service to the Olympic Park for athletes and officials. In addition to special water taxis that will provide service to those staying in the Village, the currently unused swing bridge at the northern edge of the Village will be converted into a walking trail to provide exclusive connections by foot and tram between the Olympic Village and the River District. The Village will be also serviced by two existing light rail stations - Cherry Hill and Westport - which will provide direct transit to and from BWI airport and the Core District.

GAMES CONCEPT-IMPLEMENTATION

Several strategies must be employed to turn the previously described concepts into reality. This section discusses some of the major components of the Olympic Ring concepts in more detail, and identifies methods of implementing recommended changes.

REDEVELOPMENT

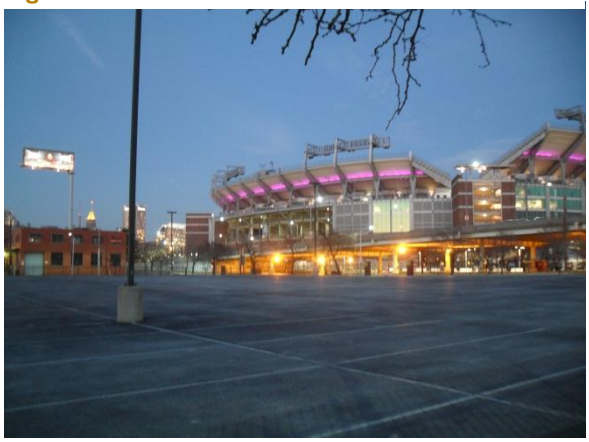
While maximizing the use of existing facilities will help reduce costs and is to be encouraged, the delivery of the Games will require new construction. The concept plan for each district presents the opportunity to put planned and necessary projects on the fast-track, and to introduce new opportunities for redevelopment.

CORE DISTRICT

While the Core District is mainly comprised of existing venues, successful completion of the new Baltimore Arena and Convention Center is critical to the city's hosting capacity. While the Maryland Stadium Authority is expected to release a study in the coming months detailing the economic viability of the proposed project and whether public funds would be warranted, an Olympic bid could enhance the availability of private financing.

To alleviate the impact of the Games on downtown's parking stock – used by everyday residents and workers –new parking decks within the Olympic Ring will be constructed to provide premium parking for spectators. The ideal location for this structured parking is the expanse of surface lots used for game-day parking at Camden Yards and M & T Bank Stadium. Situated right off of Interstates 295, 95, and 395, these new parking decks will address increases in parking demand during the Games and present a revenue opportunity as well.

Figure 23: Surface Lots near M & T Bank Stadium



Source: Author

RIVER DISTRICT

The *Baltimore Sun* site will serve as a crucial piece of the Olympic Park. With existing infrastructure in place, the building itself will be converted into a multi-purpose recreation facility to include a velodrome, pool, and BMX course. The remainder of the site consists of greenfields, which will be used to accommodate one of the warm-up tracks, new street connections, and open space for spectators.

Although the Baltimore Sun's printing facility is currently active, its imminent future use is in doubt. The *Sun's* parent company, the Tribune Company, has recently emerged from bankruptcy and has hired

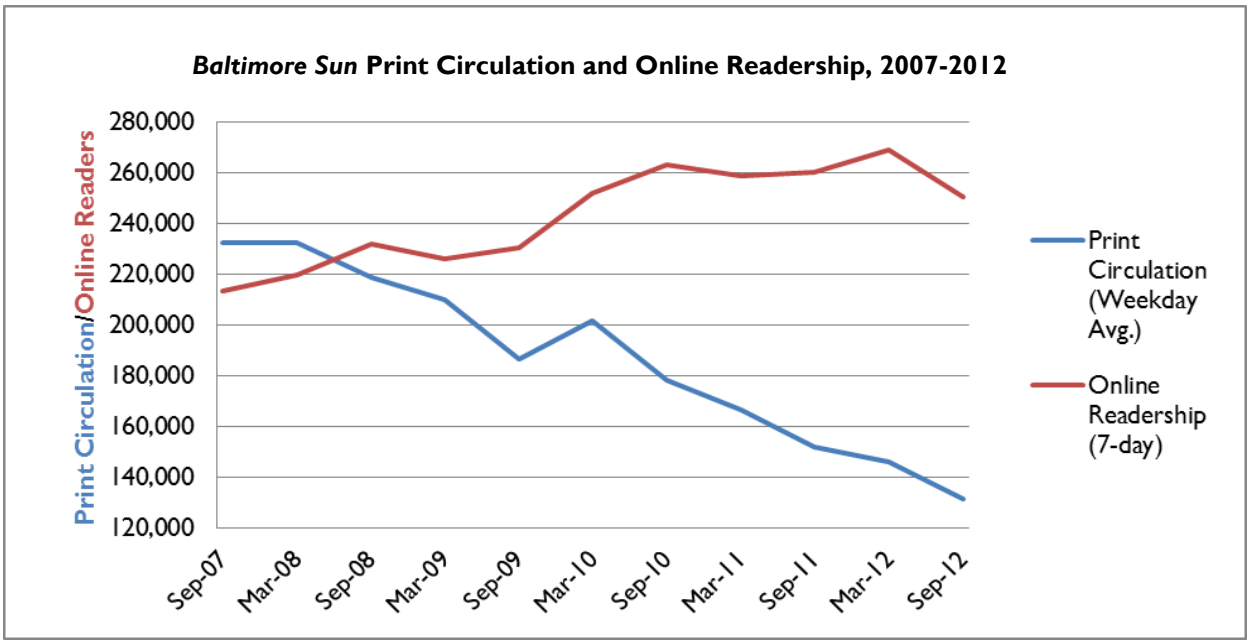
Evercore Partners and J.P. Morgan to oversee the auction of its eight newspapers. Thus, the *Baltimore Sun* will soon be for sale. More importantly, at least some of the potential buyers are uninterested in acquiring the *Sun's* real estate, which would make the 61-acre site available for new development (Meehan 2013).

One reason the print facility is not desired by prospective buyers is the fact that the nature of the news industry has changed drastically thanks to a continuing shift towards non-print media. As Figure 23 illustrates, the *Sun's* print circulation has almost been cut in half in just the past five years. Further, there is speculation that the reported circulation figures have been inflated recently; anecdotal evidence suggests that the *Sun* has been issuing free circulations in order to maintain higher rates for advertising, which comprises the majority of the paper's revenue (Serpick 2012). Irrespective of the newspaper's future buyer, should this downward trend continue (which is likely), the *Sun* property will be obsolete in a few short years simply because of lack of market demand for print media.

Repurposing the *Baltimore Sun's* Real Estate

The Baltimore Sun *printing facility occupies 61 acres of land in the Middle Branch. Capitalizing on the doubtful continuation of its current use, the Olympic Park concept calls for retrofitting the existing building and its infrastructure into a multipurpose recreation facility that will include a velodrome for track cycling and a pool for water polo. With immediate access to Interstate 95, the Baltimore cruise terminal, and the Patapsco River, the site has an ideal location and its conversion can serve as a model for adaptive re-use and will add new opportunities for community recreation.*

Figure 24: The *Baltimore Sun*'s Changing Readership Trends



Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation (2013)

To the south of the *Baltimore Sun* property lies the Port Covington Shopping Center. Occupying roughly 50 acres adjacent to the Patapsco River, the shopping center is home to two big box commercial buildings: a Wal-Mart and a former Sam's Club that is now vacant. The Sam's Club building will be retrofitted to connect to a new commercial corridor that runs parallel to an updated pedestrian promenade along the water. This new development will accommodate the official Olympic retail store and include restrooms and restaurants for spectators during the Games. The original Wal-Mart building will be able to shift operations to the new building upon its completion prior to the Games, and will cleared to make way for the temporary Olympic Stadium. The remainder of the shopping center site will be used for transit queues and open space for spectators to participate in Olympic traditions (such as trading pins), partake in festival celebrations, and relax. The waterway on the northeast edge of the site will serve as a hub for water taxi service to and from the Inner Harbor and satellite parking sites.

Another major feature of the River District will be the upgrading of the existing pool at Leone Riverside Park to accommodate the Olympic swimming facility. The facility will be an outdoor pool with temporary stands to minimize costs, an approach that was taken for the Barcelona 1992 Games and Athens 2004 Games (Associated Press 2004).

VILLAGE DISTRICT

The proposed Westport Waterfront development has seen little progress aside from site clearance. Stalled in part by the Recession, no construction has been completed. Additionally, Citigroup has recently filed for foreclosure on the property (alleging $32 million in unpaid loans) and Dixie Construction Co. and C. Frye Associates LLC have filed an involuntary Chapter 7 bankruptcy petition against the developer (alleging over $200,000 in combined unpaid debts). In March 2013, Turner filed for bankruptcy on the project, and its future depends largely on a ruling from U.S. Bankruptcy Court, which could potentially send the property to auction (Lambert 2013). This reality makes the Olympic Village a particularly catalytic project that will bring certainty to the site's otherwise haphazard future.

Figure 25: Panoramic View of Westport Waterfront

Source: Author

The Olympic Village will incorporate the Westport Waterfront development concept as a sustainable urban district, and fold in a cluster of parcels just to its south to make up the residential portion of the Olympic Village. While the land is currently used for warehousing and other low-intensity industrial uses, the Middle Branch Master Plan calls for this area to house a development node surrounded by high and medium density residential mixed use. Responsibly re-locating these businesses should be a high priority, so that existing jobs and future transit-oriented development can both be accommodated. Alternatively, development could be extended beyond the current shoreline at Westport Waterfront to increase the available footprint, as the parcel boundaries stretch well beyond the river's edge. Another option to be considered to reduce the density for new construction (if desired) is the incorporation of a residential boat harbor to accommodate National Organizing Committee (NOC) members within the village.

Figure 26: Westport Waterfront Rendering

Source: WestportWaterfront.com (Accessed 2013)

This block of land will be connected to Middle Branch Park and sectioned off with gates during the Games to establish a secure and contiguous Olympic Village. Middle Branch Park will be reserved for athlete recreation and relaxation; in addition to the existing marina and access to water recreation, the park will include a beach, trails, and natural wildlife. The urban, yet reasonably secluded waterfront setting will provide an excellent experience for the athletes within the village, with ready access to sporting venues and the city center that lie just beyond its borders.

Figure 27: Panoramic View of Middle Branch Park

Source: Author

HOSPITALITY

While new construction is not necessarily to be discouraged, the temporary shock that such a massive demand for accommodations the Olympics pose can be remediated with a holistic approach. Methods of providing for temporary accommodations around the Olympic Park include:

- Facilitating a temporary housing program that allows existing residents to rent rooms to visitors. This could either come in the form of the "Couch Surfing" model[10] or renting entire homes/units out for the duration of the Games.
- Utilizing the Baltimore cruise ship terminal to make Baltimore a cruise *destination location* with docking at the Olympic Park during the Games, rather than simply a departure location.
- Establishing a series of yacht villages wherein visitors can dock their own or rented boats and sleep on board the vessels during the Games.
- Seeking hotel guarantees from neighboring cities with transit connections and convenient road access, especially in D.C. and other locations within the Delaware-Maryland-Virginia peninsula.

NEIGHBORHOOD IMPACTS

Among the major benefits of locating the Olympic Park within the Middle Branch and downtown are the opportunities to utilize existing infrastructure and facilities, redevelop the waterfront, enhance connectivity, and introduce new community amenities to the surrounding neighborhoods. However, the close proximity of the Olympic Ring to low-income neighborhoods does pose a risk of bringing harm to many residents and workers. Several policies can be implemented to address this during the lead up to the Games:

- Conduct a social impact study prior to submitting a bid
- Implement a downtown parking policy that caps the number of spaces in worker-oriented garages available to drivers without a keycard distributed by the workplace
- Implement a legally-binding tenant protection program that requires landlords to give advance notice to tenants of temporary plans to rent rooms to visiting Olympic spectators, bans lease terminations within a certain period before and after the Games, and incorporates an element of rent control
- Pursue LIHTC funding for a portion of the Olympic Village development
- Prevent direct resident displacement by limiting all Olympic land acquisition and development to non-residential parcels
- Work with neighboring communities to develop a Community Benefits Agreement that seeks public input on what desired amenities are among local residents and incorporates local hiring stipulations in work contracts

[10] Couch-surfing is a phenomenon by which travelers use a regulated social networking site to facilitate short term stays in local residents' homes. Couch-surfers typically are provided a guest bedroom or couch for overnight shelter, which is an ideal arrangement for many people travelling by themselves or in small groups.

DEVELOPMENT NODES

CORE DISTRICT

The main long-term goal for the Core District is the successful delivery of a new Baltimore Arena and Convention Center expansion that can accommodate new events in the future. While First Mariner Arena will be maintained for interim use during the new arena's construction and for the Games, the aging arena will no longer be needed upon completion of its successor. Ultimately, First Mariner Arena will be razed to make way for a signature city square that will extend to the existing Hopkins Plaza – an approach that mirrors the Downtown Partnership of Baltimore's Open Space Plan.

Another long term goal is the intensification of land use on select portions of the existing surface lots surrounding M & T Bank Stadium and Camden Yards. To complement aforementioned addition of structured parking on these lots, commercial liner buildings should be added. This introduction of new land uses will bridge the gap between the two stadiums and help convert Russell Street into a gateway boulevard, while maintaining interior surface lots for shared parking and tailgating. Similar models of such development exist or are being pursued around single US professional stadiums and achieve reasonable success (including Nationals Park in Washington, D.C. and Gillette Stadium in Foxboro, MA). The presence of two stadiums in close proximity to downtown, for sports in different seasons, will make the Baltimore model even more sustainable.

RIVER DISTRICT

The addition of new sporting facilities will be leveraged to strengthen the Middle Branch's reputation as a recreation district. Upon repurposing the temporary Olympic Stadium, much of the land will be made available for commercial, residential, or industrial development, and the River District commercial corridor will be preserved as a new waterfront Main Street and promenade. The southern edge of the district is envisioned as a quiet refuge for passive recreation surrounding a preserved waterfront ecosystem.

Figure 28: Promenade Potential

Source: Author

VILLAGE DISTRICT

The Village District is envisioned as a mixed-use, transit-oriented development that will provide an exciting addition to Baltimore's housing stock. Similar to past Olympic Villages, the district will include a mixture of market-rate and affordable housing units. Alternative forms of accommodations, including single room occupancy and student housing, will also be incorporated. The district will attract new residents to Baltimore and make a significant contribution to the realization of the Mayor's goal of adding 10,000 new families to the city's population.

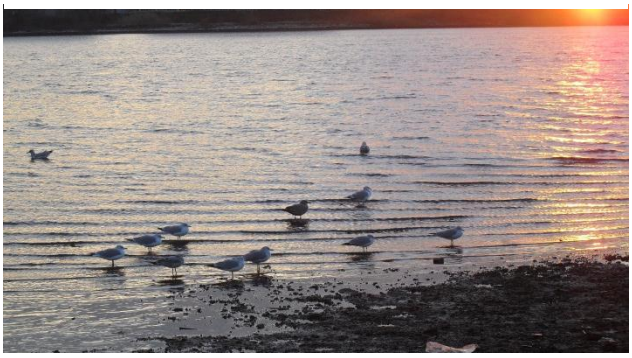
CONNECTIVITY

The long-term vision for the Olympic Ring is to establish an improved multi-modal transportation network that enhances connectivity between neighborhoods in and around the city's core, and to overcome physical barriers to enhance public access to the Middle Branch waterfront. With new local and regional rail and rapid bus transit, a comprehensive water transportation system, and a better integrated street grid, residents will enjoy greater mobility and a reduced dependence on automobiles.

ECOLOGY AND OPEN SPACE

With the Middle Branch serving as the Olympic waterfront, the protection and enhancement of its water quality and wildlife is a priority. In keeping with the Middle Branch Master Plan, the area will be home to new greenspace and beaches, and its restoration will help achieve the City's goal for the Patapsco River to become "swimmable and fishable."

Figure 29: Seagulls at Ferry Bar Park



Source: Author

HOUSING

Olympic development has frequently led to direct and indirect resident displacement and rising housing costs. While implementing tenant protection policies leading up to the Games is an important step, additional commitments to housing rights must be made after the Olympics as well.

Among the highest priorities should be the retention of Cherry Hill as an affordable neighborhood. Fortunately, most of the neighborhood is owned by the Baltimore Housing Authority, which will allow for greater public control over rents. The Housing Authority should make it clear from the beginning that existing units will be remain under its ownership, and commit to maintaining the area's affordability.

In addition to retention efforts, legally binding set-asides for affordable units should be incorporated into the Olympic Village via Baltimore City's inclusionary zoning requirements. Additionally, the Baltimore Housing Authority should consider purchasing some of the land within the Olympic Village, particularly in the Cherry Hill TOD area, to provide new publicly-subsidized housing units under its control.

PART VI: CONCLUSION

The Olympic Games offer host cities a unique opportunity to catalyze urban development and implement proposed plans that may not otherwise come to fruition. And with this opportunity come tremendous risks and responsibilities. Should Baltimore submit a bid for the Olympics, careful consideration must be given not only to the recent trends and best practices in terms of venue logistics, but also to the reality that the most vulnerable populations have often not been able to realize the benefits of urban change that the Games can elicit.

Several parallels can be drawn between the concept for a Baltimore Olympic Olympics and those of past host cities. As was the case in Atlanta, this proposal integrates the Olympic Ring into the core of the city. And similar to London and Barcelona, the plan calls for redeveloping an industrial waterfront. What makes this plan unique, however, is its proposal to leverage the Olympic Ring to knit existing downtown amenities and infrastructure together with new, park-like development to create a single Olympic Ring. This approach, coupled with a strong connection to the water, a compact set of venues and an easily accessible Olympic Village, makes the Middle Branch an especially compelling location to place at the center of a Baltimore Olympic bid.

Even if Baltimore were not to secure the right to host the Olympics, recent failed US Candidate Cities have demonstrated that the mere process of bidding for the Games, regardless of the result, can successfully galvanize political and financial support for projects associated with hosting the Games. This has most recently been demonstrated by the re-development of Chicago's former Michael Reese hospital site-slated for the Olympic Village in the city's 2016 bid- into a new waterfront community, despite Chicago's failure to secure the right to host the Games. By providing a "focusing moment," an Olympic bid can galvanize enthusiasm among diverse sets of stakeholders to plan for the future.

The Summer Olympic Games invite bold plans that alter the urban landscape in host cities. While host cities' renewal efforts are often heralded as success stories in reclaiming "derelict" land and enhancing public infrastructure, they have carried with them a high level of social costs. Best practices from past host cities must be incorporated and lessons of past social injustices must be learned in order to produce a compelling and equitable vision that would make the Games a worthwhile venture. Should Baltimore decide to bid for the Olympics in the future, perhaps this plan can be a part of that vision.

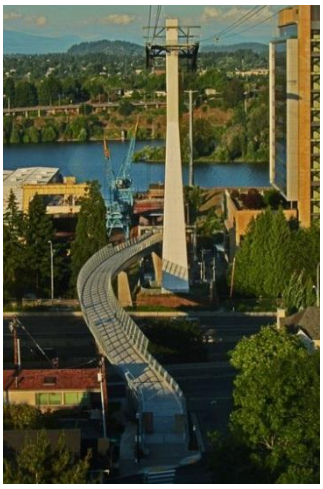
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PEDESTRIAN OVERPASSES

This section contains examples of pedestrian overpasses that may be referred to as inspiration for constructing the pedestrian bridge connecting Leone Riverside Park with the rest of the River District.

Pedestrian Bridge, Torino Olympics

Portland. Oregon



Chicago, Illinois

APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Population Change by Census Tract, 2000-2010

Census Tract	Population, 2000	Population, 2010	% Change, 2000-2010
2101	2,221	2,130	-4.1%
2201	4,053	4,025	-0.7%
2303	1,341	1,136	-15.3%
2404	2,405	2,571	6.9%
2502.04	3,638	4,125	13.4%
2502.07	2,183	2,059	-5.7%
2503.01	3,262	2,430	-25.5%
Total	*19,103*	*18,476*	*-3.3%*

Race by Census Tract, 2010

Census Tract	White	Black	Other	Total
2101	844	1,127	159	2,130
2201	3,060	603	362	4,025
2303	1,005	72	59	1,136
2404	2,373	57	141	2,571
2502.04	21	4,057	47	4,125
2502.07	60	1,905	94	2,059
2503.01	212	2,139	79	2,430
Total	*7,575*	*9,960*	*941*	*18,476*
Percentage	*41.0%*	*53.9%*	*5.1%*	*100.0%*

APPENDIX C: PRACTITIONER INSIGHT

COLIN HAYLOCK, HAYLOCK PLANNING AND DESIGN:

EXERPTS FROM 2013 APA NATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATION

"We had a great party, a really great party. I tried desperately to get tickets. My family tried to get tickets. We failed miserably. We failed in all of the luxury ballots, and as a result of that we were top of the pile when it came to buy tickets for the Paralympics and we had two amazing days at the Paralympics. If our Olympics were successful, our Paralympics were incomparably successful. Real change of attitude to the differently abled. In fact, you came around London on the tube and saw people asking "how do you have all your limbs, and yet you're still struggling?

"We had a great party, but I want to talk to you about the real fundamental underpinning about the Games. And right from the beginning we said it was about legacy. About sporting legacy, a learning legacy and a regeneration legacy.

"The learning legacy is trying to reflect on the processes are were went through, how to produce the Olympics, how to get around, how they were built on the basis that there's more to this you stand back and you learn about it and you share that learning. And one of the things that struck me very clearly when I was talking to people in the run-up to the Olympics was the extent to which we were learning from other people's Olympics and also the extent to which there's a family of people who know about actually producing Olympics venues and running Olympics and so on. So I had a strange conversation with a guy on the London Underground train. That never happened before the Olympics, you didn't talk to people on the Underground.

"How many of you have been to London? *[majority of crowd members raise hands]* Yeah, right. Not surprising. You have seen some great bits of London and you may if you have also seen some very much less than great bits of London. But we don't quite have a South Chicago. We do have areas of abandonment. We have areas that are pretty much on their uppers. But we also have some incredible challenges of population growth. The recent past and the near future. In 1939 our population peaked at 8.5 million. We dipped, we're coming back strongly, we're coming back very strongly. Some really serious issues in a city that in terms of how it deals with that. This is an issue in terms of where that growth in population is most likely to happen. And I want you to particularly look to the east and the northeast of the city. You'll see that is where the most intense growth areas are. And this is all about the strategic choice of locating the Olympics.

"The strategy here was very clearly if we were going to bid for the Olympics, we were going to use it to help repair damage in our city and repair our city, help us prepare for enormous population growth. Um, if you have an understanding about the historic pattern of London, you recognize the River Thames running through the city of London and Westminster north of the river. Not a lot of development south of the river in Stratford, where the Olympics are based. East of the city is the area that has declined but rediscovered itself as the financial center.

"East London, where my mother grew up. She said her first memory was a raid in the first World War. East London was the place where basically our immigrants arrived. It was a place of enormous turmoil. It's a place where we had rioting in front of the second world war. It's where we had fascists working. It's a place of enormous turmoil and it's always been the poorest part of the city."

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